1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

There is a mound at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, known to be the place of burial of the umbilical cord of a woman of rank, named Mafitoutai.

Nothing was learned of any special attitude towards twins (*mahanga*), except that they were thought desirable.

An attempt is made to flatten the nose of the infant by pressure frequently applied with the fingers. Large calves and small ankles, which are regarded as a mark of beauty, are sought to be developed by frequent massaging of the flesh of the child from the ankle upward and from the knee downward.

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

A lock of hair over one temple (called *fangafanga*) was worn by young girls until virginity was lost. Thereafter the hair was cut short (shaved, one informant said) from the forehead straight back to the neck. This was done as soon as the loss of virginity became known, and whether the loss was due to marriage or illicit relations. The daughter of a great chief might wear all her hair of her head at full length until her marriage, but not thereafter. The term *fakahaalavaka* was used to designate the particular style in which a chiefly girl of the Haa Havea wore her hair as a sign of virginity. Baker (2) uses this term as the designation of long hair worn as a sign of virginity by any girl.

Chiefly families still observe the ancient ceremonies connected with the incipiency of womanhood. These observances were formerly general. When the first period of a daughter of a great chief arrives, her mother is notified and then her father informed. The mother will say to him: "Our daughter has commenced to menstruate today." The girl is then forbidden to bathe during this first period, because of the belief that it would stop the flow. She is painted all over with turmeric by her mother on the first day and then put to bed, as though she were sick, to remain for the rest of the period. While she is lying in bed a big feast is held, given by her father, but supervised by the father's sister. Gifts are distributed by the mother. When the flow ceases, the girl bathes. She is accompanied by an old female attendant. She and the old woman chew *tuitui* (candlenut), *langakali* flowers, *nukonuka* flowers, and *pako* grass root, or other sweet-smelling plants. These masticated plants are rubbed over the body before bathing and the candlenut is used as soap.

No deity had charge of the girl during her period. Girls were not married before first menstruation.

The first period of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was marked by the following observances. The girl was painted with turmeric, she was forbidden to bathe, and she slept on and under black tapa to hide the blood

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

were a stranger to him, only by the way she wore her hair. If she were not a married woman, but one who was no longer a virgin, there would be no means of distinguishing her from a married woman by her appearance; only a personal knowledge of the facts would give the man a right to speak to her as an unmarried girl. 521 834 302

A girl, when going out into unfrequented places, providing she should be a virgin, took a child along as a chaperon. This child, of either sex, might be a brother or sister or a neighbor's child. The protection was based upon the fear of scandal, as the child could not be expected to keep a secret. 834 857 [858]

Among the chiefly people a virgin was called *taahine*, or more specifically, *taupoou*. Among common people a virgin was called *finemui*. A chiefly girl, when she ceased to be a virgin, was still called *taahine* but not *taupoou*. The daughter of a high matapule might also be called a *taupoou* and also bore the name *taahine*. The term *taupoou* was not applied to only the oldest virgin in a family, but to any and all virgins in the family. A commoner girl no longer a virgin was called *finemotua*. 836 565

If a young man refrained from cohabiting with women previous to his marriage, he was not highly desirable among the unmarried girls. But if a young man was reputed to have a wide sexual experience previous to marriage, regardless of his physical attractions or lack of them, he was held in high estimation by old and young and was especially admired by young unmarried women. Girls were warned to keep away from him, intimately, but taught to admire him. Such a man was said to be wise and was expected to treat his bride with more consideration during the first nights of married life. 836 58 554

Marriage Ceremonies

The marriage ceremony is to-day called *katoanga mali* (*katoanga*, festival; *mali*, English "marry"). 585

The ceremony was divided into two parts: the first taking place before and immediately after cohabitation; the second, when the first born child was sufficiently strong to be moved, if necessary, from one village to another (generally when it was about two months old).

This second part of the ceremony was always held at the home of the man's father, who designated the time. The child remained at the house of his mother's people during the entire performance, taking no part in it whatsoever. In this respect the affair seems to be complimentary to the parents rather than strictly in honor of the child itself.

The following is a description of the first ceremony, the marriage proper:

Preceding the festival, a large representation of relatives of both the bridegroom and the bride assembled at the village or community where the bridegroom's father resided. The young man took up his temporary residence with his father, if not already

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

hand when he should assume family duties. On that night the bridegroom's mother assembled all the leading elderly wives of the two interested family groups, in particular the female *fae*. These prepared the nuptial bed of many thicknesses of sleeping mats covered with several thicknesses of white tapa. Up till this time one of the *fae* slept with the couple.

On the appointed night the bridegroom and his father sat outside the house until a late hour, avowedly until everyone should be asleep. The old women selected for the occasion crowded into the house and washed and oiled the bride. After she had retired to the bed, these old women remained in the house. It is said that they went to sleep. They were designated as *kaatuukau*, a term defined as "to watch, to have in charge; a watch; one who has charge of a chief's wife." Any unmarried sisters of the bride were sent away from the neighborhood to spend the night. When the bridegroom's father judged everyone to be asleep, he instructed the bridegroom to go into his wife.

On this night the bridegroom made only a partial insertion, lest the bride should experience suffering and pain. Only a *tua* would be inconsiderate of his bride in this respect. The bride would make an outcry if she were a virgin and awaken the *fae*. When the group of old women saw that the act was finished, they examined the white tapa bed covering. If it were stained with blood, they shouted and made a great disturbance. When the bridegroom's father heard the noise, he knew his daughter-in-law to have been a virgin and he set about to arouse the entire community. If the tapa bed covering should be free from blood stains, the old women departed quietly, and no further celebration or ceremony was in order. A story is told of a chief's daughter who had committed indiscretions before marriage and who made no outcry on her bridal night. In the morning upon discovering the state of affairs, the *fae* took some sharp-edged grass and cut the girl's legs to produce the required blood.

The awakened community opened ovens, previously prepared for the occasion, and brought the products to the house of the newly married couple (the house of the bridegroom's father). Meanwhile the old women bathed the bride, oiled her body, and dressed her. Then they carefully folded the soiled white tapa, wrapped it into a bundle, bound fine mats about it with *kafa* (sennit) cord and set the bundle to one side. It was called *kofokofo*.

Food being brought, those awakened and assembled by the father also gathered about and joined in the feast. The mother of the bride was widely praised as a good mother, to have kept her daughter a virgin till the day of her marriage.

On the following day a feast completed the celebration. The *kofokofo* was presented to the bride's mother by the elderly woman who had witnessed its soiling. It constituted a material compliment to her as a mother possessed of honor and wisdom.

After all was over, the *kofokofo* was quietly buried, inconspicuously, without ceremony, and in no particular place. The burial place was not named or in any way marked.

The following information was recorded by Tukuaho, as recounted by his father Tungi I. The account was given me by Tukuaho's son, the present Prince Consort.

Supposing that there is a chief's son and a chief's daughter, and the chiefs are agreeable to their marrying, then the women-folk [presumably sisters or fathers' sisters] of the chiefs go to talk the matter over. If the girl's relatives consent, a night is fixed, the bridegroom is adorned, and goes with a large crowd of companions, as many perhaps as five hundred, so that there shall be many for the *aituo* (shout of jubilation). The party halts at a little distance from the bride's house, and the bridegroom advances, accompanied by Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the two principal matapule of the Tui Kanokupolu). The bride, too, is prepared, and, as the three approach, the light in the house is extinguished, and someone asks, "Who is that?"

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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rank, they might at least expect a severe beating, and the offender himself come off as badly, if not worse: but, independent of these restrictions, &c. Mr. Mariner is of opinion that the women are disposed to be faithful to their husbands, as being in their own acknowledgment their superiors, guardians, and protectors; and most of them, he firmly believes, are much attached to them, as he judges from their conduct when they become widows: witness the behaviour of Toobo Nuha's widows, and those of the late king. Mafi Habe, Mr. Mariner's adopted mother, did not, after the king died, marry another, or admit a lover; although Voogi, who was considered the handsomest, and one of the most agreeable men in all the Tonga islands, became passionately in love with her, and would have paid his addresses with the greatest fervour and perseverance, if she had allowed him opportunities: at this time she was at the Hapai islands, residing with her father, under whose protection she remained at the time Mr. Mariner left the islands, which was about eight months after her husband's death; though she might have married again, without any impropriety, two months afterwards, or allowed of an amour without any reproach. With respect to the wives of the lower ranks in society, they are oftener to be met with alone,

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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and on such occasions sometimes consent to the solicitations of chiefs whom they may happen to meet, not, as Mr. Mariner thinks, from an abandoned principle, or want of affection to their husbands, but from a fear of incurring the resentment of their superiors: the wives even of the lowest orders, he thinks, are very faithfully attached to their husbands.

From the above investigation, we think it would be but giving a fair opinion of the reputation of the married women to say, that they are not only circumspect in conduct, but chaste in principle; and when we consider that the married women form about two thirds of the female population, (that are marriageable,) it will give us no mean opinion of their moral reputation.

When a man divorces his wife, which is attended with no other ceremony than just telling her that she may go, she becomes perfect mistress of her own conduct, and may marry again, which is often done a few days afterwards, without the least disparagement to her character: or if she choose she may remain single and admit a lover occasionally, or may cohabit with her lover for a time, and remain at his house without being considered his wife, having no particular charge of his domestic concerns, and may leave him when she pleases, and this she

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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586 may also do without the least reproach or the
587 least secrecy. From this circumstance we may
836 draw an argument in favour of the chastity of
837 the women generally, for if they were of a dif-
581 ferent character it is natural to suppose that
[831] very few would marry, except those who, when very young, were betrothed to chiefs, and consequently married independently of their consent: but we find that three times that number are actually married: and as many are married three, four, or five times, it cannot be from an unchaste, libertine, or wandering disposition on the part of the women, seeing that when once divorced they may remain single if they please, and enjoy all the liberty that the most libertine heart can desire. If now it be asked, "Why then do they marry?" The answer is, for love of one object, with the idea that the object of their affections will *always* make them happy; and if they are disappointed in one instance they are willing to try it in a second, a third, &c.: in short, it would appear that the force of sentimental affection blinds them to the probability of a disappointment, and they willingly make a generous sacrifice of their liberty to prove the strength of their attachment*.

836 As to those women who are not actually mar-
832

* The position, that every woman is at heart a rake, does not appear to hold true in the Tonga islands.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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ried, they may bestow their favours upon whomsoever they please, without any opprobrium: it must not, however, be supposed, that these women are always easily won; the greatest attentions and most fervent solicitations are sometimes requisite, even though there be no other lover in the way. This happens sometimes from a spirit of coquetry, at other times from a dislike to the party, &c. It is thought shameful for a woman *frequently* to change her lover. Great presents are by no means certain methods of gaining her favours, and consequently they are more frequently made afterwards than before. Gross prostitution is not known among them.

With regard to the habits of the men in this respect, it must in the first place be observed, that no man is understood to be bound to conjugal fidelity: it is no reproach to him to intermix his amours, though if a married man does this to excess it is thought inconsistent: notwithstanding this liberty of conduct, however, most of the married men are tolerably true to their wives; and where they have any other amour it is kept a secret from the wife, not out of any fear or apprehension, but because it is unnecessary to excite her jealousy, and make her perhaps unhappy: for it must be said, to the honour of the men, that they consult in no

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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837 small degree, and in no few respects, the happiness and comfort of their wives. In such a case of amour, the female he is attached to never offers to associate with the wife during the time she cohabits with the husband; for this would be thought a great insult, though afterwards she may, as freely as if nothing had happened, even though the wife may have
[152] known of the transaction. The women of course feel occasionally much jealousy, but it is seldom strongly expressed, and very rarely produces any fatal consequences: pride generally causes them to conceal this passion.

With respect to the unmarried men, their
836 conduct is of course free, but they seldom make any deliberate attempts upon the chastity of
839 other men's wives. Rape, however, sometimes happens, and young chiefs are the perpetrators: but if a woman is known to be married, even though her husband be only a *tooa*, it would most likely save her from this outrage; and if she did not choose to give her consent, she might go free without farther molestation.
[727] When a woman is taken prisoner (in war), she generally has to submit; but this is a thing of course, and considered neither an outrage nor a dishonour: the only dishonour being to be a prisoner, and consequently a sort of servant to
[684] the conqueror. Rape, though always con-

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

were only plantain stems, but thought it was a body of warriors, too numerous for them to attack. So the chase was abandoned, and the pursuers returned to Tongatabu. Lepuha and the maiden went on to Vavau.

Afterwards the Tui Tonga ordered that Lepuha and the lady be brought from Vavau for the marriage ceremonies to be celebrated. On the day that the presentation of mats was made (*tuku kie*) 99 mats were given to Vaenuku, and 100 to Lepuha. But the Tui Tonga ordered that the best virgin mat (*kie fakataupoou*) be given to Vaenuku, for he had won the maiden's consent, whereas Lepuha had won her by guile.

The details of this story vary; but the motive is always the same. Vaenuku is the successful wooer, but Lepuha defrauds him of his bride by guile, and in the end there is some compensation to the disappointed lover in the distribution of mats. It was customary for virgins to present a mat to the man who won their maiden love, and this special mat is the "virgin mat" given at the end to Vaenuku. The following variant of the story represents him as having established the actual physical claim to it.

Vaenuku obtained his interview with the maiden, and she accepted him as her lover, and arranged that he should come to her compound by night. So Vaenuku stole into the maiden's house at the appointed time, and lay with her, and then returned to his own island of Eua. On the day fixed for the marriage ceremony the maiden feigned sickness, and the ceremony could not be held. So there was a postponement to another day; but when that day came Vaenuku was still absent, and the lady bade that he be sought, for she had conversed with him;[2] but he was not present at the ceremony. During the delay thus occasioned Lepuha crept by night into the maiden's house, and awaked her, saying that he was Vaenuku. So they fled together by night, and it was not till day dawned that the maiden knew that she had been deceived, and had run away with Lepuha. But by that time they were out at sea, and Tongatabu was out of sight. On that very day Vaenuku came; but when he reached the maiden's home he found that he was too late.

Fragments of a Poem of Lepuha and Vaenuku[1]

'Alu foki hano tala ki Vava'u,
Fekau mo Ha'ano nau ha'u,
Pea hifo Va'euka 'o fekau
"E Va'enuku ha'u ke ke 'alu;
Pea ko ho vala koe kie-fau,
Mo si'i papai-mate-ki-tau;
Ka mou ka fotu pea ke manatu
'Alu situ'a kea tuku atu
Ke kapa e mutu'u mei Valu."

Likewise to Vavau went the message,
And Haano were ordered to come;
And Vaeuka descended and bade,
"Come now Vaenuku, do thou go,
Thy dress shall be a fine mat,
And the girdle *papaimatekitau*;'
And when thou appearest remember
To turn thy back, and allow
The pigeon from Valu to o'ercome her."

Koe toki me'a ne tamele

Koe 'aho enau tuku kie
Mate 'a Fetoa, mate Toloke,

'Twas a thing wherein victory was marred,
On the day that the mats were divided
Fetoa was vanquished, and Toloke,'

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

535 ment rather than a set exhibition, though it is said that previously all the dancers in a *tauolunga* performed the same movement. The *meetaki* is said to be a variation of the *tauolunga*.

The *tafoe* seems to be especially a women's dance. I have not seen it performed, and from the differences in the information regarding it, it would seem not to be familiar to living Tongans. It belongs to dances included under the term *mee*, and is performed by two or three rows of women. It would seem that men might sometimes join in, as an informant has given an arrangement of three rows, in which men and women alternate, or in which men are grouped at one end and women at the other. The front row was called *otu mua*, the second *lango-matai*, and the third *mateiholo*. These names probably may be applied to the rows in other dances. The middle position in the front row in all dances is called *vahenga*, and is the principal place in the dance, those who occupy it being called simply *vahenga* or *taofi vahenga*. They are the best dancers, or the most chiefly persons in the dance, the *mata oe faiva* (face of the dance). Next in importance to the *vahenga* are the two ends of the front row. This position is called simply *faka-potu* (extremity).

In the story of the marriage of the lovely Vae to the Tui Tonga Takalaua (22, p. 60), who reigned about the middle of the fifteenth century, presumably the performers were all women, and the dance may have been the *tafoe*, though one account says that it was a Fijian dance that was being 535 performed. The performance of a women's dance at an important cere- 836 monial doubtless furnished the occasion on which a high-born virgin did *hiku*, danced naked, or perhaps girt with only a narrow cincture. This was not an immodesty, but, on the contrary, a vaunt, not only of beauty and high birth, but of chastity.

535 To take part in performances was not beneath the dignity of the highest 565 born. The Tui Tonga Takalaua's beating time for a dance has been noted. Labillardière tells of attending a vocal concert given by the queen, at which Fatafehi, a prince of the Tui Tonga house, sang and beat time. Although the *tafoe* is said to be a women's dance, the name suggests that it may have been a paddle dance.

535 In the *mee laufola*, the women stand and evidently the chief movements are with the hands. I have neither seen this, nor heard it described. Mariner (28, vol. 2, pp. 214-216) mentions this as a night dance, and as one of those [177] witnessed by Cook. Mariner says this dance "is perhaps the only one which can be considered of Tonga invention, and is the only one accompanied with Tonga songs; the rest belong to Hamoa and Nuha (Niua), and are accompanied chiefly with Hamoa songs." He further describes it as "a dance with the arms outspread: it is also called *bo mee;" bo [po] mee* means night of dancing, and is not the name of a dance. Similarly a night of dancing is

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11. By *ma* (we) Tukulua indicates himself and one other, possibly a sweetheart. It is possible that in this regretful farewell to the happy activities of living men and women, he is thinking more particularly, though not exclusively, of the charms of women's company. *Tuula* (perch for birds) would seem more likely to be applied to women than to men; women are frequently called *lupe* (pigeon). For a possible reference underlying *tata anga lei* (place of carving ivory), see *lei mangamanga* (p. 130).

12. By "games" (*tolo*) is meant the sport of dart-throwing, but possibly there is a covert allusion to love.

13. The form of the phrase *tuna 'ae fuifui puleoto* (man, lad) of cluster of *puleoto* recalls the Hebrew "son of oil." The *puleoto* is a shell used for the necklaces of chiefs and is a valued ornament of chiefly virgins. To wear this shell is a mark of virginity, for if a girl who is not a virgin wears one suspended from her neck the shell will not lie properly upon her bosom, but will turn over.

14. The *motelolo* is a tree.

15. There are two musical directions in my manuscript copy. The word *fasi* apparently marks a part where those who sing the air come in, or perhaps sing alone, and the word *lautoka* is perhaps a direction to the base or seconds. The refrains that recur throughout the piece were probably sung by the full chorus.

Page 79. On the death of the Tui Tonga

1. Langiehetupua is the name of Tui Tonga's burial vault.

2. The number of pigeons flying about in all the islands (*otu fonua*) was an omen of the King's death.

3. In the original Tongan text *mata-'o peka* is written as three words and would thus mean face (front) of *peka* (flying-fox), but the probability is that it should be taken here as a geographical name. It is possible that the phrase may mean the faces, appearance of the people of Peka (21). Veituna also appears to be a geographical name. Where these places are, or why they are mentioned, is not known.

4. Malamaisaua (indistinctly written, and possibly Malamaisana, but Malamaisaua suits the rhyme and is in all likelihood correct) is probably a place name, perhaps the name of the late Tui Tonga's compound; but it may be one of the names of the King himself.

5. *'Otua* means god, spirit. This direct ascription of deity to the king descended from the Lords of Heaven may perhaps be made easier by the fact that he is dead and has returned (or is about to return?) to the land of immortals, but it seems preferable to regard it as a statement of what the Tui Tonga, the Sacred King, actually was in his status as a king, both king of mortals and a god, probably pre-eminently the god so far as men were concerned.

6. Screen (*tatau*). A screen (*kolo*) is sometimes put around the bodies of chiefs during the burial ceremony in the cemetery and, for the very great chiefs, also in the house in which the body lay before being taken to the cemetery. Inside this screen only the *haa tufunga* (compare Maori *tohunga* and cognates in other dialects), members of the family group to whom belonged funerary arrangements, were allowed to enter.

7. Alaivahamamao, probably a *matapule* of the dead king.

8. "Midrib of the coconut leaflet" signifies the dead king. He is so called because flowers and leaves are strung on the midrib, and the name signifies him who was the center of festival for which garlands and necklaces were prepared; him to whom most of all were brought objects of pleasure and delight.

9. Manono and Fualu are names of localities in Tonga. It is possible that Manono is indicated. The statement has been made in Tonga that there is tradition that the pigeon came from Samoa to Tonga. Perhaps the most likely interpretation is that the pigeon of Manono and Fualu is the dead King, though it is possible that this is the beginning of an address to the women of Manono and Fualu, calling on them to mourn. The loss of the next five lines makes it impossible to decide.

10. At the end of the mutilated line is *e-valu*, translated "eight," but of course there is nothing to show that the syllables are not, for example, the end of a name.

11. The use of the word *afio* (reign) does not mean that the king will be king of Pulotu, for Hikuleo is ruler there; but the word *afio* is used of the Tui Tonga and has a wide range of application. It is the word used of the king's being, presence, in any place. The lines mean little more than that he will be in Pulotu, Pulotutuumau (Pulotu stand fast). If Watkin (38) is correct in thinking that the Tongans divided

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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further recommendation of being openhanded. The dour chief of Majilamea was rejected with the scornful inquiry as to when there was ever a man worth while from Majilamea. 539 584

Another rendering of this phrase, seemingly the more widely used, and probably the better, is *Kai pe tae a Majilamea* [Eat offal (excrement), Majilamea.] A delicate invitation of this sort is a common form of Tongan billingsgate. The expression has a wide application and may be compared in general with the Biblical question, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" 539 578 261

454. Fakakiki kae oho: Trembling but making a rush. 539 584

This indicates the rushing of a man into the danger which he at first feared. An instance given of its application does not indicate very stern perils, being nothing more alarming than the fair charmer before whom a man finds himself embarrassed and fearful, but whom at last he wins for his own.

455. Hoa a kehe: Mating of different (sorts). 539 593

Those who are married, or in some other way united, but are not well matched.

456. Manako Sea manako Sau: Baker translates this phrase: "To be in love with two opposite parties or things." 539 584

This, or some kindred meaning, seems undoubtedly to express the sense of the phrase, but it is difficult to get today a reliable explanation of the literal meaning. *Sea* and *sau* are unknown as common nouns and if they are used as names their occurrence must be very infrequent. However, Dr. Krämer (Samoa-Inseln, I Band, pp. 121 ff. and 176) quotes both *Sea* (in composition) and *Sau* as Samoan names for women. The Tongan account of the proverb is that *Sea* and *Sau* were two beautiful women (probably Samoans), both beloved by a handsome man (Tuitonga in one account) who, being unable to make up his mind between their rival charms, in the end got neither. One story makes a happier ending by asserting that he got both.

457. Mata lupe kehea: Seeing other dove. 539 837

The word dove is used here of a sweetheart and seems to be a very old term of endearment applied by a man to his mistress. This phrase means a man who has become enamored of a new charmer and forgotten his old love.

458. Poloji poloji pea koji kovi: Long-haired, long-haired, and cut evilly. 539 836

The wearing of two long locks of hair at the back of a girl's head was a sign of virginity, these locks being cut at marriage. Virginity was highly prized in a bride and was marked by special features in the marriage ceremony. The expression indicates a girl who has lost the right to wear the maiden locks before being duly married. 302 585

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Another explanation is that long locks were the sign of a betrothed maiden, and the expression means a maiden bethrothed by a chief who after all does not marry her. When finally she loses the virginal strands of hair it is not by being married to the chief she expected but by making a lowlier match. (See No. 459.)

459. Ikai ha lu loloi: Not a leaf cooked in oil.

Leaves of the taro and nowadays of the cabbage are frequently cooked with coconut and eaten. Used here as the symbol of the smallest and meanest kind of presentation of food. This phrase is not used alone, but as a completion of No. 458. The meaning is that the unfortunate girl has no sort of celebration; not even this trifling food gift falls to her share.

460. See so: Scaring off sweethearting.

Literally of a grave and reverend elder, or some such objectionable person, intruding on young men and maids. Thence of anyone "butting in" where he is not wanted.

461. Vale pe he valeanga: Foolish in the thing to be foolish about.

This refers to one who has been hard hit by the tender passion. A man madly in love may do many things that are not quite in accord with his customary well-balanced sanity, but what else is to be expected from a man in love? He is foolish, but under circumstances in which the whole world is apt to be a little less sane than usual.

462. Viku ae malo o Afitu mo Lakepa: The passion of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the praise of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the loin-cloth of Afitu and Lakepa is damped.

Whatever the literal translation the expression refers primarily to the disappointment suffered by the handsome *Omaniai* Lolo, son of the chief of Afitu, who had also some connection with Lakepa or its chiefly house. Lolo had been uniformly successful in love until one occasion when he was taking home in his boat a fair lady who preferred another gallant, named Lepuha of Leimatua in Vavau (Lolo also lived in Vavau it would seem), and who jumped overboard and swam ashore and joined her lover. Lolo's chagrin is expressed in this phrase.

Malo is a common word for praise, thanks, and possibly the expression means that the praise of Afitu and Lakepa has had a set-back.

Malo is also a small loincloth worn when one wants to be unencumbered with dress, as in fighting. The native cloth is spoiled by wetting, and so the expression may mean that the cloth is spoiled.

Another meaning of *malo* is the bloom of the breadfruit tree, and the explanation which involves this signification is perhaps on the whole the best. The bloom of the breadfruit both from its shape and its function as a forerunner of fruit is likened to the membrum virile; and the expression is thus a very broad jest on the gallant's disappointment.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

eaves, and left only the door-way open, which was never closed, night nor day.

Such spacious habitations are necessary for the chiefs, whose household, in general, is large, as composed of many attendants. But there are generally small apartments contiguous to the house, in which his wives and children lodge. One of his wives, however, for the most part, slept with him in the same room, in a space, separated from the rest by inclosures of Takkabou, or matting, three feet high, fitted up to the beams, that went across to the centre post, to keep it upright.

The household of Mulkaamair was considerable. He had at different times from four to eight wives, eight sons and five daughters, besides many attendants. The children were all in great subjection to him, and of different rank and dignity, according to the rank of their respective mothers. For family dignity, in Tongataboo, descends not from the father, but the mother, owing, it is probable, to the frequency of divorce, and of illicit intercourse.

When the day declined, about seven d'clock, if they were not disposed to dance, they would retire to bed, or, more properly, to recline on their matting.

But when they had retired, the most social employment of the day took place. As they lay reclining at their ease, Mulkaamair and his numerous household, that lay round him, would commence conversations, that amused them till they all fell asleep.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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seduced me: but it would answer no useful end.

For the same reason, though it might serve to show the gross wickedness of a people, in many respects generous, humane and friendly; and might evince their need of that glorious light of christianity, which modern illuminati would extinguish, as darkening the light of simple nature, (which, notwithstanding all the refined speculations of sophistry, is too fully proved to be wholly corrupt,) I forbear to describe the disorderly meetings that were held, at particular spots, for nocturnal dances, and the tumultuous excursions of young men through the country during the night.* If, notwithstanding the light of divine truth, and the regulations of a police, in christian countries, so many harlots fill the streets of every populous town, it is not wonderful that "feenetakabous," the name by which, in these Islands, these depraved creatures are known, should abound in the polluting groves of Tonga.

Here, however, to the honor of the Tongas, it should be acknowledged, that no Arreoy society exists on the Island: the idea of the abominable practises of the Arreoys at Otaheite, they hold in detestation. They are never guilty of murdering their children: on the contrary, they have a numerous offspring, to which they are very much attach-

* Quædam ignorare sapientis est. . . .

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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her into the canoe, and gently seated her by the side of her husband. She then took leave of them. I did not perceive her shed tears, but she hung down her head with a melancholy, modest air, and gently waved her hand as a farewell. The four attendants remained with her[1] till the canoe was rowing off. They had been with her from her birth till this moment; when they resigned their charge to four others, who were to be the same guardians of her fidelity as the former had been of her virginity. It is the custom through life, thus carefully to keep the daughters of the principal chiefs. They are never suffered to be without one or two of these attendants, night and day. The young women indeed pride themselves much upon their virginity, which they call taihenee: and as the token and ornament of that state, their hair is suffered to remain uncut till their marriage. Whether this distinction which is here properly considered the virgin's "glory," is then laid aside, because her honor then becomes inseparable from that of the husband, I know not, but it is singular, that they have only one word to express both husband and wife, viz. "Oanna," as though the union was so intimate that even language could not refer to the one without including the other.

As the husband receives his partner unspotted, he provides a similar guard to preserve her so. For, unchastity is considered of so little account at Tonga,

1 [i.e. the bride of the Tui Kanokupolu--Analyst]

to mark what is now a non-critical period by feasting and gift-giving. Presumably the boy may still suffer from anxiety over the operation, but he is after all, only a boy. Neither parents nor village see any necessity to concern themselves greatly with the emotions of a mere boy when they are experienced out of sight and out of sound in a distant hospital. The situation has obviously changed greatly from the time when surgery was carried out in the village without the aid of anaesthetics, sterile instruments and specific operator's skill.

COURTSHIP

The average village man's idea of a woman who is beautiful emphasises first of all the fact that she should be fat in every part of her body. Her eyes should be far apart. There should be a slight prognathism and everted lips. Skin should be a medium brown, not too fair and not too dark. The feet should be large and well formed. Conversely, a woman whose skin is very dark or one whose bust is large but whose buttocks and feet are small, is looked upon with small favour by the idealists. Naturally, few women in Pangai measure up to the ideal. One who chooses a mate or begins a courtship must overlook much and weigh the preferential value of skin colour against size of buttocks or feet.

The mother exercises considerable supervision over her nubile daughter. An industrious girl, well chaperoned, is likely to make a good marriage. An unchaperoned girl who shows signs of laziness, who is on a familiar joking-relationship with many men, or who visits much about the village instead of staying home quietly working, may be attractive to some young men, but the elders see to it that no easy marriage will be arranged. The model mother will not allow her daughter to walk unescorted at night. Our housegirl's home was barely 200 feet from our house, but the girl's mother would always send a younger sister or brother to escort the girl home after dark from one house to the other.

It is difficult to judge whether pre-marital sex-relations are common among the young people of the village. All informants were positive that with the exception of two doubtful cases, all the young unmarried girls in the village

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

836 were virgins. This is probably true, but it is likely that more freedom is allowed post-adolescent boys to enjoy what experiences they can in any other village than Pangai. One woman in Pangai is alleged to be a prostitute *(lele tau)*. [548] Probably she has gained this reputation because of promiscuous habits and a natural tendency on the part of some young men to bring her an occasional gift. Some after [882] dark chaperoning is also due to fear of ghosts on the part [775] of young girls, especially if messages or missions take them close to the bush that surrounds the village. But present [183] ideals of chastity in girls undoubtedly receive considerable [795] support from Christian religious sanctions. Both the ideal and the sanction are stressed continually in Protestant church teaching and in Catholic convent-schooling.

584 Nothing can suggest more vividly current practices of courtship in Pangai than the following account of events in Biukala's life that led up to his marriage:

> One day, when Biukala was twenty-three years old, his father asked him which of the many girls of his acquaintance would be his choice for a marriage-mate. Biukala answered that he was not pleased with any of these girls, some he thought were pretty only, and none of them seemed clever. Many Pangai girls had sought excuse to visit his father's house, ostensibly bringing messages for his mother, but in reality trying to display their charms before a personable young man. His father's question served the purpose of bringing the matter of his marriage before Biukala's mind, so he thought he would visit other villages to see if he could find a more suitable mate than was available in Pangai. He already had a mistress in Neiafu whom he occasionally visited, but he did not consider her seriously as a mate.

584 One day as he was on his way to visit some relatives 574 in an isolated village in Vava'u, he passed through the village 276 of Ha'akio and was casually invited to stop and drink some *kava* that was being prepared for a group of men, mostly old men with three or four younger men talking idly among themselves. The girl Sepi was making the *kava*. Biukala immediately noticed her skill, youth, and quiet assurance. He sat drinking *kava* all the afternoon and evening, studying 584 the girl carefully. Instead of going on to visit his relatives he returned to Pangai, thought about the matter for four

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

other persons who could not properly be sworn when called as witnesses. I knew of no word that signified "affirmation" as distinguished from oath (*fuakava*). I endeavoured to explain to Tukuaho that the word required had a meaning akin to oath but fell short of it. After mature thought he declared that *talatukii* had the exact meaning required. *Talatukii* was accordingly printed in the draft. An expression of surprise and inquiry crossed the faces of the more intelligent of the Commons, and Sovea rose to inquire from the *fakahinohino* why Quakers should be permitted to *talatukii* in a court of law, and who they were to do it to. On more exact inquiry, I learned that the word *talatukii* means to curse—to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect; and this was the conduct prescribed by my Code for Quakers in the witness-box!

In Titipu, if Mr Gilbert is to be taken seriously, flirting is punishable with death; in Tonga the penalty is penal servitude. Whether the severity of the punishment or the frailty of human nature is to blame for the prevalence of this crime I know not, but whatever be the cause, the police are so actively engaged in hunting down delinquents that they have neither time nor inclination to attend to burglaries, thefts, or other less interesting offences. Once before I had tried to reform the practice in this respect, by inserting in the instructions to the police an injunction to leave prosecutions of this nature to the injured parties. The Cabinet agreed with me, but, as I have already related, a deputation of policemen, headed by the grey-headed Inspector, subsequently waited upon the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

Premier to implore him to reflect before committing himself to an innovation that would not only destroy the traditions of the "Force," but would also without doubt call down upon his country the divine wrath. At Tukuaho's desire I had consented to shelve the question until the meeting of Parliament, lest ill-conditioned persons might misrepresent our motives to the king. I was therefore prepared for opposition, but having the support of the Cabinet, I was determined to relieve the police of this part of their duties, and to sacrifice the prison labourers and the revenue in fines with which these prosecutions annually provided the Government. The proposal evoked a passionate debate. Vili Tai opposed the measure in a burst of fiery oratory. He fully believed that it may suit Britain or France to regard flirting as an offence against the individual, but in Tonga, at least, it is a crime against the State. For have not the Tongans solemnly dedicated their country to God? Pointing to the royal arms blazoned above the daïs, he cried, "What other nation has the right to that motto, 'God and Tonga are my inheritance'? If you quote what is done in Bilitania, I will quote you the motto of the nation." There was a murmur of applause. It was in vain to point out that a restriction of the functions of the police is not in itself likely to call down the divine wrath. The reservoir of Tongan eloquence had burst its banks, and cold commonsense could never stem the flood. Another enthusiast fixed a rapt and inspired gaze on the ceiling, and demanded whether the House would dare to break its faith with the Almighty. "It may be true that under our present laws our country is becoming depopulated,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

but better we should perish from the face of the earth than break our solemn covenant with God." William Macaliuaki, who generally talks sense, reminds the House that thirteen years ago a similar measure was passed, and that within three months an epidemic attacked the people, but when the measure was repealed the sickness abated. He only mentions the fact without drawing any deduction, except that there is room for belief that the Almighty *does* expect higher things from Tonga than from other countries. A personal element is imported by one of the Nobles, who remarks that the law would be entirely unnecessary if it were not for the professional bachelors, such as Moengangongo, Kubu's brother, and Matealona, and half-a-dozen others who sat among them. These unfortunates, having no defence ready to meet this unprovoked attack, look foolish. A fortnight after the session Moengangongo espoused the ox-eyed waitress Sau, but whether in consequence of this public attack, or the young lady's charming poses in the windows of the dining-room, has not as yet transpired. Forced against our will to play the unwelcome part of "devil's advocate," we at last applied the closure, and the votes were taken. Two of the Ministry, Sateki and Kubu, voted against us. I was about to explain to Kubu that one of the principles of party government was that the members of the Cabinet should act in concert, and that, as he had promised to vote for this measure, his attitude required explanation; but he forestalled me by saying that during the debate his *konisienisi* (conscience) had met him face to face, and that therefore the terms of his oath compelled him to desert his

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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646 671 836 684 party. The Government carried the motion by a bare majority of two. That evening Mataka read it to the king, sitting at the old man's feet. When the fateful words were reached Tubou expressed his disapproval, and declined to sign until it had been taken back to the House for further discussion. The news leaked out, and at the [643] next division the Ministers were left alone. A Tongan has no convictions that are not shared by his king.

646 These debates were useful to us, for they enabled us to sift the dispositions of the members, and to gauge our chances of overcoming opposition in the more important 646 651 debate on the Customs. As soon as our position seemed sufficiently secure, we determined to skip the intermediate 439 part of the Code, and at once attack the chapter dealing with the tariff. The announcement was made without warning, so that we might hear the views of the members [434] themselves without prompting from the Europeans. I told them that the Customs at present produced a revenue of about £6000 a-year, which we could not afford to do without unless the expenditure was considerably reduced; but that before proceeding further with the Code, we must know the views of the House regarding the continuance of the *tute*, as they called the collection of Customs dues. If they refused to raise revenue by this means, it would be a waste of time to pass an elaborate Customs law. There was some whispering amongst the Commons, and William rose to ask a question. If the Customs were abolished, what would happen? To this I replied that the revenue must be raised by increased direct taxation, or by a reduction of the expenditure by one-third. Vili Tai wished to know whether it was

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

the choice of their partners. The young man anticipates the interview with the lady's parents with much the same feelings of confidence or trepidation as animate the breast of his European contemporary in like circumstances. It is not always the good will of the girl's own father that must be won, as his inclinations may often be overborne by his elder brothers, or by his sisters—the "brothers" and "sisters" may of course be cousins near or distant—who are his superiors in the family conclave. The chances are that the lovers' wishes will be met, but the young lady does not as a rule pine in the face of an adverse decision, and the disappointed swain is more likely to find comfort in the reflection that there are other pebbles on the beach, than to indulge gloomy musings upon the unkind fate that has stood between him and his soul-mate.

Occasionally head strong youth refuses to acquiesce in the parental prohibition, and the lovers elope. If they are both of age the Government permit to marry cannot be withheld, the religious ceremony follows as a matter of course, and the happy, or almost happy, couple wait with a confidence, which experience usually shows to be well founded, that the resentment of their kin will be short-lived, and that, like the philosophers they are, they will accept the inevitable, and acknowledge the undutiful son and daughter by a performance of the proper nuptial rites.

The youth who goes a-courting is frequently moved to call the muse to his aid, and to tell his adoration in "songs of sweet-scented flowers," compositions which, though rather rough in form, display much poetic feeling both for love and some of the beauties of nature.

The old practice seems to have been for the matron's hair to be cut differently from the maiden's. The virgin wore two long locks at the back of the head, but at marriage these were cut off, and the hair then allowed to grow an equal length all over the head. Although marriage was marked by extensive ritual the bond was easily terminable. No life-long guarantees were expected or given. Late in the eighteenth century one of the artisans in the party sent by the London Missionary Society to Tonga fell in love with a Tongan girl, and a date was fixed for the marriage. Previous to the ceremony the missionaries explained to the young lady the nature of the bond she was about to contract, but at the mention of a life-long union she promptly refused to go on with the matter. She was quite prepared for a union for as long as their mutual liking dictated, but would not be bound "till death do you part."

The great chiefs had numerous harems, but it cannot be inferred that there was any degrading inferiority of women. The Tongan, indeed, is justly proud of the position which his women-folk have always enjoyed. Genealogies show that great ladies frequently had many lovers. The system was free and easy, and the women fared

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

SUNDAY 25*th*. In my walk to day I happened to step into a house where a Woman was dressing the eyes of a young child which was blind; the eyes were much inflamed and seemed to be covered with a thin film. The instruments she used were two slender wooden probes, with which she had probed round the eyes so as to make them bleed; she had almost finished the opperation when I went in so that I saw but little of it.[1] In the same house another women was shaving a Childs head with a Sherks tooth stuck into the end of a piece of stick, she first wet the hair before the razor with a rag diped in water; the opperation gave no sort of pain to the Child although the hair was taken off as close as any of our razors would have done it,[2] I tryed one and found it an excellent succedanuem. But the men shave the beard with two shells, one of which they place under a small part of the beard and with the other scrape that part off;[3] in this manner they will shave very close, the opperation is rather long but no ways painfull and there are men who seem to profess it, and it was as common for to see some of our men sit to be shaved by these shavers, as it was for the Chiefs to come aboard to be shaved by our Barbers.[4]

Finding we got little or nothing where we lay,[5] I resolved to change our station and wait Feenoughs return in some other place; accordingly in the fore noon of the 26th we got under sail and stood to the Southward along the reef of the island, having 14 and 13 fathom water a sandy bottom. We however met with several detatched Shoals, some were descovered by breake[r]s, some by the Water upon them appearing discourlered and others by the lead. At half past two PM having past several of these shoals and seeing more Mon. 26

were said to be at Huahine; and he was to have another one, p. 196 below. '. . . the man gave such answers & drew the number of the masts upon the sand, as to stagger us & put some confidence in the report, the fellow was very ready to go in our boats to prove the truth of his tale.'—King.

[1] Mariner has an interesting paragraph on Tongan ophthalmia and eye-surgery, II, p. cii: ending, 'Mr Mariner neither saw nor heard of but one man who had lost his sight by disease'.

[2] 'an absolute falsity [it] will not take it off so [well] as scissors.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 260.

[3] 'this is a better [plan] and they cut their bea[rds] off pretty close.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 261.

[4] 'none of our Sailors could bear it & none more than once try['d how] they liked the meth[od].'—Bligh AL, I, p. 261. Cf. Ellis, I, p. 93, on Tongan feelings in the matter: 'This operation [with shells] however is rather painful and tedious, and observing how expeditious and clean we performed it, they were desirous of trying it also; and it so far exceeded their expectations that scarce a day passed without plenty of customers.'

[5] 'But we have purchased almost all their commodities; they having very few things to dispose of except their young Girls which seems to be almost the only trade at present, & indeed is very advantageous to the men, for they are paid a hatchet for every nights lodging, or a Shirt.—This seems the Common run of trade—but in some instances I have seen two hatchets & a shirt or sheet given for a Nights lodging with a fine young Girl.—The men receive what is agree'd for & leave them on Board, & come for them again the next morning, & if the girls get any thing more they take it away the moment they come.'—Bayly T, 28 May.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

each to serve a certain number, these generally divide again, so that one seldom sees above two or three eating together. The Women are not excluded from eating with the Men, but there are certain ranks or orders among them that can neither eat nor drink together; it begins with the King but where it ends I cannot say.[1]

Amusements Of their amusements I need add nothing to what has been already said on this su[b]ject in the account of the incidents that happened during our stay at the islands.[2] Polygamy is

Polygamy allowed to the Cheifs, and it is no uncommon thing to meet with some who will tell us they have got eight or ten wives, but the most of them are satisfied with one at least many had no more. Some of us were of opinion, that the most of those which they called their wives were only concubines, and that there was only one that was looked upon as the wife and who always appeared to be the Mistress of the family.[3] As chastity at first sight appeared to be held in no great estimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of the conjugal fidelity in the Married Women or kept Mistresses, which you please, but it was the very contrary. I do not know that our whole Stay produced one instance; neither are those of the better sort that are unmarr[i]ed more free of their favours, its true there are no want of those of a different stamp, and perhaps they are more numerous in proportion to the number of people than in many other Countries; but it appeared to me that the most, if not all of them, were of the lowest class of people, and such as came to our people were Whores by profession and brought to us in order to make the most of the present time.

Diseases This commerce has unhappily entailed upon them the Veneral deasease, as we had not been long at Anamocka before some of our people were affected with it, and I had the Mortification to find that all the care I took when I first Visited these islands to prevent this dreadfull desease from being communicated to them, prove enefectual. What is extraordinary the people do not

[1] The general rule was that inferiors could not eat with superiors: the Tu'i Tonga could not eat in the presence of the Tamaha, and so on down the whole scale of precedence. There was also the brother-sister *tapu*, the sister being of higher rank than her brother.

[2] '. . . to their private diversions may be added their household ones, the men have a game calld Kaka-'haho exactly like our Cup & ball. The Children have plays familiar to themselves, as throwing up 5 or 6 balls & catching each successively, this is mostly a Girls diversion, the boys cut a string exactly in the same manner as we do a Garter & take off & on in various shapes & ways from the fingers, they walk on Coco nut shells as we do on stilts by means of a Cord thro: the hole of the Shell with many other plays like our Children.'—King.

[3] This was so, though to equate 'concubine' with 'kept mistress', as Cook does in his next sentence, is not quite happy. The word must be used in the technical polygamous social sense: a Tongan bride might bring her husband a *fokisafe*, a secondary or supplementary wife, selected by herself from her own family, perhaps a younger sister—or perhaps

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& twirl it about with great celerity so as not to let the balls touch each other; & have a game in which they alternately throw one hand towards each other, closing it quickly & repeating something, at the same time throwing down a bit of stick from several which they hold in the other hand;[1] besides some others, as repeating the numbers by pairs, at each time leaving out the first & taking in another &c. The Children have games peculiar to themselves as throwing up four, five or even six balls so dexterously that they catch them successivily & have never more than one in the hand at the same time, which is chiefly practis'd by the girls. The boys walk with a string drawn through half a Cocoa nut shell on which they put the opening between the great toe and next at the convex part, and hauling up the string take long strides as we do with stilts. They cut a string exactly in the same way as we do a garter, and take off one in various ways from the fingers,[2] with several other things of that kind which differ little from the pastimes of our boys.

We have not yet been able to discover whether their marriages are made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, but it is certain that amongst the bulk of the people Monogamy is the mode of men & women living together, and though the superior sort have commonly several women it does not appear that Polygamy is allow'd to any but their king, though the others are undoubtedly intended to supply the place of several.[3] It seems however of less consequence that the marriages should be rigidly binding where the free intercourse between the sexes amongst the younger sort is not at all reckoned criminal but rather encourag'd. The men in these cases seem to be the proper judges of what ought to be done, and often do not spend much of their time in a tender courtship, a circumstance which might be reckon'd a great rudeness did not the women on their side encourage it by a ready compliance. In short both men and women seem to have little knowledge of what we call delicacy in Amours; they rather seem to think it unnatural to suppress an appetite originally implanted in them perhaps for the same purposes as hunger or thirst, and consequently make it often a topic of public conversation, or what is more indecent in our judgment, have been seen to cool the ardour of their mutual inclinations before the eyes of many spectators. They seem to imagine that the same freedom prevails amongst other nations, at least with respect to us, for they never

[1] Mariner calls this game 'liagi', and says it is 'the first and most important of all Tongan games'; his description is in II, pp. 221–2. *Liaki* means to swing, toss, or fling, but does not now seem to be applied to a game.

[2] Cat's cradle—Tongan *matamatakupenga*—is widespread in the Pacific.

[3] *though the others . . . several*: it is difficult to see what precisely Anderson means by this.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

548 scrupled at our most intimate connexions with their women for a very moderate price, and absolutely converted it into a fix'd article
836 of trade to their no small emolument. It should not however be under-
837 stood that this is without exception universal, as there are many women who either from their connections, natural timidity, or absolute aversion to such promiscuous engagements are not pregnable on any terms, independent of those who are understood to be married.

This extensive and gentle empire which Love has planted amongst them is so far from loosening that it cements the bands of Society. The sexes seem to live in the most perfect harmony undisturb'd by jealousy on either side,[1] and what is perhaps still more uncommon, that almost universal passion seems to be quite a stranger amongst
583 the female part with respect to each other. Amongst the various lovers that present themselves it may be easily suppos'd a woman will soon discover, either from interest or desire, one whom she would wish to attach herself to, & he probably from her assiduity to please will be fix'd from roving, from whence it is not uncommon to see such cases before a lasting union is agreed on as far as we could perceive
[163] from circumstances. When that has taken place the domestic felicity
[599] seems to increase; for as they often become mothers at an early age their affection for their children and care in providing for them excites their industry in conjunction with that of the husband, and soon obliterates their wish for such unstable connections as before
855 that period. When they cease to bear children they appear to gain
888 instead of lose respect, and though they then appear to have some weight in the management of the younger sort it seems ultimately to be left to the decision of the men, who though absolute excercise their power in a very gentle manner except in a few cases.

765 Their mutual affection does not cease on this side of the grave, nor can they believe that death bereaves them of the merit of expressing their long grief by removing the object from their sight, and rendering
[764] it unsusceptible of the various proofs of their kindness. Nothing however does them greater credit nor can be a greater proof of their humanity than the concern the[y] show for and decent disposal of
765 the dead. Their mourning is, to use a common expression, not in
304 words but deeds, for besides the Tooge, burnt circles and scars mention'd before they beat the teeth with stone[s], strike a sharks tooth into the head untill the blood flows in streams and thrust spears into the inner part of the thigh, the sides below the armpits, and through the cheeks into the mouth—all operations that convey

[1] But cf. p. 96a below, where a commoner and a chief's wife were concerned.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

considerable Height & the Island may be called low upon the whole. It abounds with Bread fruit trees, Cocoa nuts, Yams, Plantains & Tarroo root & is well stocked with Hogs & Fowls. We found no great Difficulty in getting the Girls on board, for the Charms of a Hatchet, a Shirt or a long nail they could no more withstand than we could theirs which were far from being despicable. Some of these Girls were exceeding handsome, tho' it was afterwards universally allowed that in female softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheitean Ladies.

We had been at Anamooka about a Week when there arrived from one of the neighbouring Isles a Chief whose authority was acknowledged to be superior to that of Toobow the King of the Island. He was taken on board the Ship by Capt Cook & treated with respect suitable to his Dignity, & presented with a Cotton Gown, Hatchets, Beads & other Things with which he was well pleased. The Name of the great Personage we found was Phenow,[1] he is about thirty years of age, not robust but tall & well made & exceedingly active & lively with a majestic Countenance & a noble and manly Deportment, his forehead is high, his Nose Aquiline & his Eye penetrating and full of fire, his Hair thick & flowing over his Shoulders. He seemed to be possessed of a mind intelligent, firm, elevated & generous; His manners were free and engaging. In his intercourse with us he shewed a keeness and Penetration that distinguished him as a great Character. In a short time he became a Favourite with all, & tho' afterwards we met with Chiefs of higher rank than him he still continued to be the most popular Man among us while we staid at these Islands. He generally had three or four of his Mistresses attending him who were very handsome women. He made Capt. Cook several Presents of red Feathers, Hogs & Fruits & he spent much of his time on board the Resolution where many things engaged his attention, more particularly the great Guns & small arms; to gratify his Curiosity a great gun was fired with Ball towards the Shore which was about a mile distant, another was fired afterwards on the other side towards the open sea. We saw them both light & the astonishment which they created in Phenow & the other Chiefs who were on board may be much easier conceived than described; two or three more Guns were fired, when Phenow partly terrified with the Explosion & perfectly satisfied with the Execution of them told us that he desired no more. At the same time that this Experiment pleased & gratified the Curiosity of the Indian Chief, it impressed him with a Dread of our Power, which no doubt was of use

[1] Finau. Why Samwell spells the name with 'Ph' is a mystery.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Excursions into different parts of the Country, among others I shall here mention the reception that four of us met with on a Visit we paid to Toobow, a Chief of the first Consequence who lived about 3 or four miles along shore to the Eastward of our Tents. On our arrival being made known to him by the great Croud that accompanied us the old Chief came out of his Inclosure & met us on the highway, & then conducted us to his House where we were entirely free from the Croud, none of whom dared to follow us into his Inclosure; he desired us to sit down which we did & then made him a present of Nails & other things, for which he thanked us by putting each article to his head, which is the Custom of these people on receiving any Gift; after a little while his wives of which he has 2 or 3 came in & sat down with us, first having paid their respect to Toobow by touching his foot with their Heads & then with the back & palm of their Hands, and this Ceremony they always use on coming to his presence as well as on leaving him. He made some apologies to us in that he was not able to get us any thing for dinner but fish, all the Hogs being at this time under a Taboo as they had supplied the Ships with as many as they could spare, & this shews How strictly the Chiefs themselves observe those Laws which they make for the public Good. However we made an excellent Dinner of baked fish & yams, & having brought some Brandy with us which mixed with the Cocoa nut Milk makes a most excellent Drink we were not in a Humour to find fault, on the Contrary we spent a merry afternoon. Toobow having provided a Company of dancers to entertain us, we in our Turns entertained with Country dances on the green before the House, at which Toobow was much delighted, & we were altogether so pleased with our honest Host & the cordial manner in which he entertained us that we resolved to stay at his House all night, & to encourage us in this resolution He promised to procure a mistress for each of us, we wanted no more & Toobow was as good as his word. About 12 o'Clock we were waked by the Servants to a repast of fish & yams which was provided for us (it seems to be a common Custom with these people to eat ab[t] that time of night), we partook of some of it with our Dulcineas who were all fine Girls & did Honour to Toobow's Hospitality, we all laid together in one room upon Matts & were covered with a large Quantity of Indian Cloth. One Girl hearing a rustling of the bed Cloaths at one time of the Night cried out 'Cohaiia'[1]—ie. what is the matter? the other who was the occasion of it & then employed ab[t] some business or other very innocently

[1] *ko e ha.*

56: Samwell1 D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

answered, 'migee migee.'[1] This would not have been worth mentioning but that it shews in a striking light the great simplicity of their Manners, which must be an apology for its indelicacy, at least I have no other to offer except the strong propensity a man feels to tell his friends a piece of news that savours so much of the marvellous & ludicrous. Early the next morning we took our leave of Toobow who wanted us much to accept of some Cloth in return for the presents we had made him, but this we could not comply with. We had not gone far from the House before we met Phenow dressed in his best Habit with his Hair and Shoulders shining with oil; being somewhat surprized at seeing him thus so early in the Day, we asked him the reason of it & he told us he was going to wait upon Toobow to desire his assistance for one of his Wives who was sick—being set upon the Enquiry by this Circumstance I learned afterwards that Toobow is the Chief Physician of the Island & that he is highly respected and venerated by all Ranks of people on that Account, & it appears by his Rank that ye profession of Physic is excercised only by the Princes of the Country, like it was of old by the Chiefs & Kings among the grecians. A medical Person or Physician is called in their Language Fo-foa;[2] how far their Knowledge extends we had not an opportunity to learn.

Every Morning the Chiefs and their attendants drink Kava, the Juice of an intoxicating Pepper, the method of preparing and drinking it is as follows. The Chief sits crosslegged facing his attendants who sit in the same manner forming a half Circle with their faces towards him, a large wooden Bowl is placed in the middle, with some water at hand in a gourd, a quantity of the Kava root is brought in by a servant & every one except the Chief himself takes a bit of it & chews it; while they are performing this Operation, one man is employed in making small Cups of Plantain leaves, another in drawing a plant into Fibres with his Teeth, which they use like Tow for a strainer; these Things being got ready one of them went round for the Kava which every man delivered to him out of his Mouth ground into a mass full

[1] Mariner 'michi'; Anderson 'Meedje, meedje, [*misi-misi*], To drink out of a coconut', or, of children, to suck; but here it must mean sexual intercourse. Labillardière, *Account of a Voyage in search of La Pérouse* . . . (2nd ed., London, 1802), in his twelfth chapter gives amusing instances of its use thus, and his Vocabulary of the Friendly Islands (II, p. 398) has 'Mitzi mitzi, mitchi mitchi', for the act of coition.

[2] This word presents a little problem. It is difficult to say whether the initial letter is a badly-written F or a badly-written T. If it is F then there may be some connection with the now obsolescent *fuavai*, a dispenser of medicine. If it is T the alliance may be with *tufunga*, a word which in its various Polynesian forms and combinations carries all sorts of implications of skill or wisdom, though in Tongan it seems to have had the more restricted meaning of skilled workman or artificer as given by Mariner for his 'Toofoonga'. The more likely guess seems to be *fuavai*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

The Women are in general handsome tho' many among them somewhat masculine, & it was the general Opinion that in female softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheite Ladies, who from being more covered are of a fairer Complexion; however we saw great Numbers of Girls here as beautiful or more so than any at Otaheite & who in Symmetry & proportion might dispute the palm with any women under the Sun. They wear much the same kind of Clothing as the men & wear necklaces of Shells and the Legs of Fowls & some made of a small black Seed.[1] They are clothed from the Waist to the Knees & all the other parts are exposed. The lower Class of young women have their Hair cut short, while those of the Agee order wear it long & flowing down their Shoulders which had a graceful and a truly elegant Appearance, & made us lament that the superstitious Custom of mourning for the dead should deprive a young Creature as beautiful as Venus herself of her chief Ornament, which is always the Case on the Death of the Chiefs or their own Relations. As to modesty these women have no more Claim to it than the Otaheiteans, we have had on board the ships large Companies of them dancing stark naked, at the same time using the most lascivious Gestures.[2] These Agee Girls, as we called them, never came on board the Ships, nor were their favours to be purchased for Hatchets or any thing else that we had, they are kept inviolate for the Chiefs who marry them. After lying in the women stain their bodies & faces of a yellow Colour[3] & this they continue to do for a certain time. Polygamy seems to be allowed at these Islands to the Chiefs some of whom had four or five wives, tho' it is probable that none but those of the first Consequence are allowed as many, the generality of the people having only one.

We saw 4 or 5 white people at these Islands and at Annamooka a Child of about a year old, they are all much alike in their Persons & appearance, all small slender people with very weak eyes that can hardly bear the light; their Skin where it is not covered is rough & cracked & of a red Colour that under their Cloaths is exactly like the skin of an European. It is the Opinion of some that the whiteness of the Skin is occasioned by a Distemper, if it be so it is a distemper that is born with them; it is certain that they have a very puny sickly appearance & are altogether a disagreeable ugly looking people. We saw no Women of this Colour.

[1] The berries of the Poro, *Solanum nigrum*.

[2] The foregoing sentence is an insertion in the MS; hence the dislocation in the sense of the following one.

[3] A mixture of turmeric and oil was used. It was supposed to aid the mother's flow of milk. The child was painted similarly.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

drag her away the Man struck him. On this Fataſee immediately desisted & waited upon Captn Cook with his Complaint: the man was called upon the quarter Deck & had nothing to say in his defence but that the Chief had no business with the Girl as he had paid for her. Captn Cook told his people that he would suffer none of them upon any Account whatso[e]ver to strike an Indian except in their own defence, much more a Chief & he the 2d man on the Island. He then ordered the man to be seized up and flogged, on this the good natured Indian forgiving the man for the injury he had just received from him made strong intercession to Captain Cook to spare him, but it was in vain tho' Fataſee pleaded long & earnestly for him, such an outrage was by no means to be looked over and the man received a dozen Lashes & was obliged to deliver up his mistress who was sent ashore; and it must be confessed that in all disputes between our People & the Indians, Captn Cook ever acted with the utmost Impartiality, being as ready to hear the Complaint of an Indian and to see justice done to him when injured, as he was to any of his own Men, which equitable way of proceeding rendered him highly respected & esteemed by all the Indians.

During our stay here we had a constant Intercourse with the Women both on board the Ships and on Shore, & the price was a Shirt or a Hatchet for the Night; they were brought to us & the Bargain made by their Fathers, Brothers or some Friend or Relation. Some of them followed us from Island to Island, many of the Annamooka Girls following us to the Happai Isles and afterwards to Tongataboo. They made shift before they left us of getting most of our Linnen from us, especially from those who were not rich in Hatchets. They are of a very amorous Complexion & highly deserving of what they got.

Before we left these Islands many of our people contracted that most grievous of all Curses the Venereal Disease, which has found its Way to these Islands & which in spite of every Care & Precaution will disseminate itself wherever an European goes. It was supposed by many that this Distemper was left here last Voyage by the Resolution & Discovery, tho' every Method that wisdom could suggest was taken to prevent it. We saw many who had venereal Ulcers upon them in different Parts & one or two who had lost the Nose. We met with many people who were afflicted with enormous Swellings of their Legs & arms, tho' otherwise in perfect Health, brisk & lively, this is taken Notice of by Tasman & called St Thomas's Arm;[1] to prevent the swelling from extending to the fingers, they wear a string tight

[1] It was elephantiasis.

[457 cont.]

175 609 and were easily persuaded to come on board, perfectly naked,
171 831 without professing greater chastity than the common women at
Taheitee, and the Society Isles. Our seamen took advantage of
175 609 their disposition, and once more offered to our eyes a scene worthy
836 of the Cyprian temples. A shirt, a small piece of cloth, nay a few
beads, were sometimes sufficient temptations, for which some of
the women of Tonga-Tabboo, prostituted themselves without any sense
175 836 of shame. This lubricity was, however, very far from being general,
and we had reason to believe that not a single married woman was
[837] guilty of infidelity. If we had been acquainted with the distinction
of ranks as at Taheitee, it is highly probable, that we should have
observed no other prostitutes than such as belonged to the lowest
class of people. Still it remains an unaccountable singularity in
the character of the nations of this part of our globe, that they
suffer any of their unmarried women to admit the promiscuous embraces
000 of a multitude of lovers. Can they imagine, that after giving such
an unlimited course to the impulses of nature, they will make better
wives, than the innocent and the chaste? But it is in vain that we
endeavour to find reasons for the arbitrary whims of mankind. Their
opinions in respect of the sex in particular, have been infinitely
various in all ages and countries. [458] In some parts of India,
no man of consequence will condescend to marry a virgin; in Europe
she who has lost that character is universally rejected. Turks, Arabs,
Tartars, and Russians are jealous even of an imaginary characteristic
of virginity, which the native of Malabar bestows upon his Idol.

175 609 None of these women ventured to stay on board after sun-set,
but returned to the shore to pass the night, like the greater part

[160 cont.]

The English and French navigators have charged each other with the introduction of this detestable disorder among the harmless and hospitable Taheitians; though they have long been acquainted with it, and are not ignorant of the art of curing it (2). Nay, it seems

2. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 233.

that their simple diet, the salubrity of their climate, and a long space of time, have abated the acrimony of the virus, and brought it to that inactive state to which it is now reduced in South America. I am far from supposing, that the venereal complaint has been carried to America from Europe; no, the same causes which could give birth to it in one part of the world, are sufficient to produce it every where else. The commerce of our crews with the women of Tonga Tabboo, and the Marquesas; nay, their remarkable connections with the salacious females of Easter Island, had no sinister consequences. It may be inferred from thence, that the infection has not yet broke out at those islands, though such inferences are sometimes [161] fallacious (3);

3. See vol. I. p. 369.

for captain Wallis left Taheitee without having a single venereal patient, though the distemper is now proved to have existed there before his arrival. It is also beyond a doubt, that the New Zeelanders (4) were afflicted with this disorder before any Europeans had an

4. Ibid. p. 239.

intercourse with them.

We passed the island of Mowrua in the afternoon, and stood to the westward with a favourable trade-wind. On the 6th, at eleven in the morning, we descried an island, which captain Wallis named after lord Howe. It is very low, consisting of coral ledges, which

[171 cont.]

they continued to trade with us. They sold us coco-nuts, excellent yams, bread fruit, bananas, shaddocks, and other fruit. They also brought purple water-hens alive, and a fine well-tasted sparus ready dressed in leaves; also a curious stringy root baked, which contained a very nourishing pulp, of such a sweetness, as if it had been boiled in sugar. All these things were eagerly bought for nails, which were esteemed according to their size, and for pieces of our cloth. Their canoes, their persons, dress, customs and language so entirely resembled those of Tonga-Tabboo, that we could perceive no difference. As this island is at a short distance from Namoka, it is not improbable that the inhabitants of the latter might have heard of our arrival there in October, 1773.

The next morning [June 27] captain Cook landed early in a sandy cove, which is accurately described by Tasman. It is enclosed by a reef, and has a narrow entrance for boats at the south end. It is so shallow, that our boats could only come in at high water. The captain purchased a pig, and was conducted to a pond of fresh water at a short distance from the beach, the same where Tasman had supplied his ships with water. The hospitality of the natives was exercised [172] in its utmost extent, and one of the handsomest ladies of the island complimented the captain with an offer, which was not accepted. Having examined the watering place, he returned on board to breakfast, and gave strict orders, that no persons infected with or lately cured of venereal complaints should be suffered to go on shore, and that no women should be admitted in the ship. A number of ladies came off in several canoes, and seemed very desirous of making acquaintance with our sailors; but after paddling about the ship for some time, they were

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
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as an illustration of an attack that might well be more fruitful in other and more competent hands.[1]

Dreams and Psychic Stress

Dreaming occurs fairly frequently among the villagers of Pangai. Men had no hesitation in telling their dreams to us or else recording them for us. The women, however, were much shyer and it was only by considerable perseverance that Pearl Beaglehole was able to record any dreams at all from women informants. There is no reason for thinking that women dream less than men. Many dreams seem to be in terms of conventional cultural symbols and are given a conventional interpretation by the Tongans. Thus for a husband to dream of money or a ring is a sign that his wife is pregnant. Dreams portending death, usually of a member of the family or some other close relative, are those of teeth falling out (said to be a common type of dream), dreams of feces on the body, dreams of touching or handling a hen's egg.[2] Dreams of approaching fire or of slipping down into a bottomless pit are terror dreams, generally interpreted as warnings of possible punishment should the dreamer continue to commit minor sinful acts. One informant also stated that dreams could be used to validate medicinal recipes. His mother's father was visited by a female spirit in a dream and given a successful recipe to cure barrenness and sterility in women.

Wish-fulfilment dreams appear to be frequent and capable of easy interpretation. The following are examples of this type of dream:

Case 1.—Avai, a boy of 18, home on vacation from a Seventh-Day Adventist College in Nukualofa, reported to me several dreams in which "a girl friend" appeared and offered herself to him in sexual intercourse. Tongan sexual morality among young people is relatively strict. Avai had previously been asked to leave the Government College, Nukualofa, for absenting himself at night from the college. He had determined to reform, but the occurrence of this type of dream suggests that his reforming zeal was not without its intrapsychic conflict.

Case 2.—Loata, a woman of about 35, our next-door neighbor and one very poor, even according to Tongan standards, narrated the following dream to Pearl Beaglehole: "You brought me a beautiful new dress as a gift and also a lot of pins to fasten it together after it had been fitted. My daughter Saane (6 years old) ran away with the pins, and when I chased her she suddenly changed into Saane Tapaka (a girl of 18 employed by us as housegirl, with the same first name as the daughter—we had previously given Saane T. a dress). I could not catch her, and when I came back to my house to get the dress I found you had gone and the dress was nowhere to be found." This dream is, I think, self-explanatory. Loata dressed for the most part in rags because her husband was too poor to buy new piece goods at the village store.

Case 3.—Kafa, a young woman of 18 years, married for two years without yet becoming pregnant (a rarity in Tonga), confesses to many dreams in which she gives birth to and nurses an infant. She also dreams occasionally that her husband, the local storekeeper and a hardworking man, has eloped

[1] Field work on which this paper was based was carried out in Tonga, December, 1938, to February, 1939. Pearl Beaglehole and I lived in the village of Pangai, Vava'u, a small Tongan community about six miles distant from Neiafu, government and trading center for Vava'u, the northern group of Tongan islands, 170 miles away by sea from Nukualofa, capital of the Tongan kingdom. The population of Pangai is about 270. Pearl Beaglehole helped me collect the material here recorded. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer, Vava'u, kindly gave me the information on which Case 10 (below) is based.

[2] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *Bishop Museum Bull.* 61, 1929, pp. 337–338, gives several further examples.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

Towards the end of the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century the discovery of rich new whaling grounds in the western and central Pacific brought many whalers to the area. Tonga received its share of these visits and the whalers engaged in trade, exchanging beads, cloth, iron tools and muskets for fresh provisions of fruit, vegetables, pork, coconut oil and other native produce. The missionaries felt rather uneasy about the presence of the whalers. Nathaniel Turner wrote:

> Tonga is now becoming a place of resort for shipping, especially whalers, and we may expect it will be much more so. This may in some respect be attended with advantages; but we have already cause to fear it will materially militate against our cause. (Turner to Committee, 24 April 1830, WMMS 1818-36, item A2836)

Later it became increasingly clear that the uneasiness of the missionaries mainly rested upon their fears that the whalers called at the islands not merely in search of provisions, but also to win the favours of the Tongan women. Yet in this respect the teachings of the missionaries had been readily accepted. Peter Turner reported that the captain and the supercargo of a vessel which left Tonga three days previously had done 'all they could to induce some of the females to go on board but all their efforts were futile' (P. Turner, Journal, 28 April 1832).

The whalers, for their part, felt antipathy towards the missionaries on account of this and tried to seize every opportunity to discredit them and undermine their work. They gained sufficient influence to delay the conversion of some of the remote islands of the group (Amos to Committee, 11 Sept. 1857, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170).

The attention of traders to Tonga was first aroused by Captain Cook's praise for the Tongans for their keen interest in trade. He claimed that 'Perhaps, no nation in the world traffic with more honesty and less distrust' (Cook and King 1784:384). Many years later, Peter Dillon (1829, I:277) added to this view when he wrote:

> I may safely say that Tonga is the best island in the South Seas for ships to recruit their supplies at, provisions there are in such plenty.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

> Some traders not satisfied with 2 or 3 hundred percent on their goods and the difference in the value of oil (here £12—in Sydney £30 or more) have introduced ardent spirits as article of trade. We expect commerce will follow in the wake of Christianity, but when it attempts to unchristianize an infant Christian people we deplore it. (Whewell to General Secretary, Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170)

Another major sorce of discord between the traders and the missionaries was over the question of women. John Thomas (Journal, 19 Mar. 1831) recorded the following episode:

> The captain that was here last has left an ill savour behind him . . . He tried several persons in order to get a woman for his base purposes, but I am happy to know that he did not succeed. One chief viz Tuihaatuho told him he could not let him have one and when he (the Cap.) applied to Taufaahau he told him he could not do it, that he feared Jehovah and also he met in Society and wished to do as I taught him. These things would have a very bad tendency upon the infant cause here.

Another example of the clashes over women was reported by Rabone (Journal, 2 Aug. 1836) who commented upon certain incidents in his journal which 'made us ashamed of the name of Englishmen'. It appears that a Captain Brind of the trading vessel *Tower Castle* called at the island of Rotuma and, as several Rotumans wished to go to Tonga, he offered to take them. On leaving the island he took one female as his mistress, but after being at sea four days, in a fit of drunkenness he threw her overboard. His crew rescued the woman, without his knowledge, and stowed her away. Meanwhile he had taken another female, a young virgin, who was on her way to Tonga to marry a young chief. These actions grieved both the Rotumans and the Tongans very deeply. On a later voyage, he returned to Tonga and invited some Tongans and Rotumans on board, among whom was the young chief, who objected to his wife going. A fight broke out between one of Brind's men and the chief in which the young chief was killed. When this became known to the Tongans, a few hours later, they took the murderer and killed him.

The missionaries believed that the conduct of these captains was responsible for some of the 'evil doings' of the natives, of which they later complained when they returned to their home ports (P. Turner 1831-38:75).

/73 cont./

592 554 556 178 of "eldest" on account of their personal power, this development is today aided by the greater opportunities of acquiring property and wealth.

b) Love Life, Nuptials, Birth, Death

Love Life

836 The young native men who are of marriageable age but as yet unmarried enjoy considerable freedom in their association with unmarried Tongan women, which is publicly acknowledged insofar as those who are successful in love affairs are well thought of. An important restriction, however, is the fact that most parents would like their daughters to enter marriage as virgins, and they protect them in accordance with this--likewise publicly acknowledged--moral law. This contradiction has led these people who, despite puritanical mission work, remain sensual, to develop a system of pre-marital relationships in which very many young Tongan men achieve their goal and some girls take part. In general, pre-marital intercourse may be described as rather frequent--insofar as it is possible to assess these hidden acts. However, it is probably not as considerable as [178] it was before the time of the missions (that is to say, in ancient Tongan times). Intercourse takes place less out-of-doors (in the bush) than in houses (mostly at night). There is definite discrimination in this free love life. On Nomuka (population 567) there are, for example, only three Tongan women with whom any man may have intercourse. Many young men on the same island want certain girls who, however, do not yield, either as a matter of principle (less often) or because, in their secret thoughts, they have men of their choice who are not aware of this or do not wish to know. Many a 839 rejected young Tongan tries to attain his goal forcibly. In Tonga, rape /74/ is probably the most frequent offence, next to theft in

/74 cont./

848 to begin with are regarded with suspicion in such cases. Most
582 young Tongan men seem to marry another girl than the one with whom
836 they have had pre-marital intercourse.

836 Apart from the aforementioned limited decrease of pre-marital
177 intercourse as a result of European influence (mission work), the
178 present situation as described corresponds more or less to ancient Tongan times. For Mariner already tells us of the freedom of unmarried girls (212)

212. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.

and of certain difficulties in winning a girl (unmarried woman). (213)

213. The same, loc. cit. II. p. 174.

178 Then, as today, unmarried men seldom try married women (214)
836
837 and promiscuity and prostitution are scarcely noticeable on the small
548 islands. (215)

214. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.

215. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 174/175.

177 However, the often inglorious behavior of foreign troops on Tongatapu
548 during the Second World /75/ War has led to the fact that in Nuku'alofa,
562 for example, various Tonga women offer themselves for money, and in the seaports a certain roughness of young Tongan men in their conduct toward females may probably be traced back to the influence of war.

Nuptials

581 Tongans usually marry out of personal affection and practical
584 affection and practical considerations. Often the parents of the man or girl try to dispose them toward a "better" match, and the couple will sometimes ignore the parents' will ("flight marriage," see p. 96). Childhood betrothals arranged by the parents (216)

216. These are mentioned by Mariner for roughly one-third of the married women (to men of higher rank than commoners) (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. p. 167).